

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY PM/SSP - P.PERENYI/S.THAYER
APPROVED BY PM - MR. GELB
PM - MR. KAHAN
EA/RA - MR. H. HOROWITZ
EA/ANZ - MR. TWINING

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
INFO AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

S E C R E T STATE 204570

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PCAT, PARM, US, UR, AS

SUBJECT: RENOUF CALL ON PM DIRECTOR GELB
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1. BEFORE DEPARTING WASHINGTON FOR CONSULTATIONS,
AMBASSADOR RENOUF SOUGHT AN APPOINTMENT WITH PM DIRECTOR
GELB. THEIR CONVERSATION CENTERED ON THREE AREAS --
THE US-SOVIET CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFER TALKS, THE
INDIAN OCEAN TALKS AND THE NORTH-WEST CAPE. BELOW ARE
HIGHLIGHTS.

2. CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFER (CAT) TALKS.

A. GELB SAID:

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-- AT THE LAST ROUND, THE SOVIETS AGREED THAT THE MATTER
OF LIMITING CONVENTIONAL ARMS WAS URGENT AND THAT
CONCRETE STEPS WERE NEEDED; SOVIETS HAD LATER WORKED
WITH US ON THIS ISSUE AT THE SSOD.

-- AT THIS ROUND, THE SOVIETS INITIALLY INSISTED THAT
DISCUSSION OF "POLITICAL/LEGAL" CRITERIA COVERING

HO COULD LEGITIMATELY RECEIVE ARMS WAS ALL THAT WAS NEEDED.

-- THE US WAS SUCCESSFUL IN INCLUDING AN ADDITIONAL SUBJECT, I.E., MILITARY/TECHNICAL CRITERIA WHICH WOULD BEGIN TO LIMIT THE TYPE AND AMOUNT OF TRANSFERS.

-- WE WERE ALSO SUCCESSFUL IN GETTING THE SOVIETS TO AGREE ON THE NECESSITY OF DISCUSSING CRITERIA IN SPECIFIC REGIONAL SETTINGS SO THAT WE WOULD NOT APPLY CRITERIA DIFFERENTLY IN PRACTICE.

-- SOVIETS HAD ALSO ACCEPTED THE IDEA THAT WE MIGHT AGREE ON INTERIM REGIONAL RESTRAINT MEASURES, EVEN BEFORE OVERALL AGREEMENT ON CRITERIA TO BE APPLIED WORLDWIDE.

-- WE HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT GAINS; WHAT HAD APPEARED A HOPELESS EFFORT TO INTEREST THE SOVIETS IN RESTRAINT MIGHT NOW RESULT IN PARALLEL APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM.

-- GELB SPECULATED THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT HAVE SEVERAL REASONS TO COOPERATE: THEY REALIZED THAT TRANSFERS COULD RAISE US-SOVIET TENSIONS, (IN SOME CASES, THEY WERE WILLING TO PAY THIS PRICE), THAT ARMS DID NOT BUY LASTING INFLUENCE (SOVIETS HAD BEEN EJECTED FROM ARMS
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CLIENT COUNTRIES) AND, FINALLY, THAT THEIR FAILURE TO COOPERATE COULD CONTRIBUTE TO DOMESTIC US PRESSURES TO DROP UNILATERAL RESTRAINT. THEY KNEW WE COULD SELL BILLIONS MORE. THE SOVIETS MIGHT ALSO HOPE TO CREATE DIFFICULTIES WITH OUR ALLIES, BUT WE HAD CLEARLY EXCLUDED ALLIES FROM OUR PROPOSALS.

-- HOWEVER, GELB EMPHASIZED WE MAY NOT SUCCEED; FOR OUR PART, WE TOLD SOVIETS THAT THE NEXT ROUND IS CRITICAL AND SHOULD PRODUCE CONCRETE RESULTS; WE DON'T WANT ANOTHER OPEN-ENDED EXERCISE LIKE MBFR.

-- SO MANY IDEAS AND THOUGHTS HAD BEEN EXCHANGED THAT WE WILL NEED THE PERIOD BEFORE THE NEXT ROUND IN DECEMBER FOR SYSTEMATIC CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES, AS WELL AS FOR CONTINUING INFORMAL CONTACTS WITH THE SOVIETS. WE ALSO NEED TO ALLOW THEIR BUREAUCRACY TIME TO REACT.

B. AUSTRALIAN EMBOFF COTTRILL ASKED WHETHER REGIONAL VARIANTS OF UNIVERSAL CRITERIA WOULD BE DEVELOPED TO

RESTRAIN TRANSFERS TO PARTICULAR AREAS AND WHETHER

SOUTHEAST ASIA WAS INCLUDED. GELB REPLIED THAT SOME CRITERIA WOULD HAVE TO BE DEFINED IN A REGIONAL CONTEXT, E.G., WHAT WAS A SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS SYSTEM? WE HAD TOLD THE SOVIETS THAT THE REGIONS WE DECIDED TO DISCUSS SHOULD REFLECT RECOGNIZED GEOGRAPHIC ENTITIES, AS WELL AS HOW COUNTRIES IN THE AREA SAW THEIR SECURITY SITUATION AND THE LOCAL MILITARY BALANCE. THIS WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT TOPIC IN THE NEXT ROUND.

C. FINALLY, GELB NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD INFORMALLY MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE VIETNAMESE SSOD PROPOSAL FOR A ZONE OF PEACE COULD BE A USEFUL FRAMEWORK FOR ARMS RESTRAINT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. HE WAS NOT SURE WHAT THE SOVIETS HAD IN MIND BUT THOUGHT THEY WOULD
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RAISE THIS IN THE NEXT ROUND. WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION THAT AUSTRALIA COULD SOLICIT ON THIS PROPOSAL WITHOUT RELATING THEIR QUESTIONS TO CAT. WE SHOULD ALSO KEEP IN TOUCH ON WHAT WE SHOULD SAY TO THE ASEAN COUNTRIES RE CAT. RENOUF AGREED.

3. INDIAN OCEAN TALKS:

A. AMBASSADOR RENOUF ASKED WHETHER THE INDIAN OCEAN TALKS ARE "STILL IN THE FREEZER", AND WHAT WILL BE REQUIRED TO RESUME THEM. HE SAID SOVIET NAVAL LEVELS IN THE AREA HAVE GONE DOWN AND THE SOVIETS "ARE NOT SO ACTIVE NOW" IN AFRICA.

B. GELB REPLIED THAT FROM AN OFFICIAL STANDPOINT, WE HAVE TWO REASONS FOR HOLDING OFF AT THIS MOMENT FROM RESUMING THE TALKS. FIRST, UNTIL THE RECENT PAST, SOVIET NAVAL FORCES IN THE AREA HAD BEEN NEARLY DOUBLE THEIR PREVIOUS LEVELS. ALTHOUGH THE LEVELS ARE DOWN ONCE AGAIN, WE HAVE NO ASSURANCE THAT THEY WILL STAY DOWN, AND WE SEE NO SIGN THAT THE SOVIETS CONSIDER THAT THEY ARE UNDER ANY CONSTRAINTS. SECOND, THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN AFRICA IS STILL A FACTOR. SOVIET ACTIONS IN REGARD TO SOMALIA AND, PARTICULARLY, ERITERA RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT SOVIET INTENTIONS. THESE ISSUES MUST BE CLARIFIED. PM DEPUTY DIRECTOR KAHAN ADDED THAT WE WISH TO TAKE AUSTRALIAN INTERESTS INTO ACCOUNT IN WORKING OUT OUR POSITION ON LBSA'S, AND WE WOULD WELCOME AUSTRALIAN VIEWS. RENOUF SAID HE WILL QUERY CANBERRA.

C. GELB ASKED IF THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN TRYING TO STIR UP

TROUBLE IN REGARD TO THE TALKS. COTTRILL REPLIED THAT TO
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HIS KNOWLEDGE THE ONLY CHARGES LEVELED BY THE SOVIETS ON THIS ISSUE WERE THOSE IN THE RECENT TASS COMMENTARY (STATE 184776). AMBASSADOR RENOUF ADDED THAT AUSTRALIA IS NOW TAKING LESS INTEREST IN DISCUSSING THIS MATTER WITH THE SOVIETS. HE SAID THAT, DURING THE TWO ROUNDS OF AUSTRALIA-USSR DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW, IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE SOVIETS WERE USING THESE MEETINGS FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES. AUSTRALIA HAS DECIDED, THEREFORE, THAT IT WILL LISTEN IF THE SOVIETS WANT TO DISCUSS THE MATTER, BUT IT WILL NOT SEEK FURTHER DISCUSSIONS.

D. GELB SAID THAT IF THE SOVIETS RAISE WITH OTHER COUNTRIES THE QUESTION OF THE COMING ANZUS EXERCISES, WE SHOULD HAVE A COORDINATED REPLY. RENOUF PROMISED TO FLAG THIS TO CANBERRA.

E. IN CONCLUSION, GELB EMPHASIZED THAT THE PRESIDENT REMAINS COMMITTED TO INDIAN OCEAN ARMS LIMITATION, BUT DUE TO THE FACTORS OUTLINED ABOVE, WE INTEND TO LET THE MATTER SIT FOR THE TIME BEING WITHOUT DOING DAMAGE TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

4. NORTHWEST CAPE: RENOUF SAID THAT HE WAS WORRIED OVER THE NORTHWEST CAPE FLARE-UP WHICH HAD RESULTED FROM AUSTRALIAN PRESS REPORTS. HIS VIEW WAS THAT IT HAS BEEN BADLY HANDLED, AND HE COMMENTED THAT HE THOUGHT IT WAS EXTRAORDINARY THAT A MINISTER HAD SCAPEGOATED THE US. LOWER LEVEL OFFICIALS HAD CERTAINLY BEEN INFORMED BY THE US. HE HOPED THAT THE PENTAGON WAS NOT DISTURBED OVER THE MATTER. CHRISTOPHER

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